782 untary alms. Zakat, the tithe for the church, is not given
[93] by the Kanuri. Consequently the clergy are dependent entirely
[792] on sadaka. Koranic specialists who devote themselves entirely to study of the Koran, and to the teaching of the Koran are called Malams. The Malams are supported by sadaka which devout Kanuri are expected to give.

788 The fifth and last Pillar of Islam is the pilgrimage.
177 All who can manage the pilgrimage to Mecca (haj) without hardship are expected at some time to make this trip. The Mais and Shehus undertook the pilgrimage, and in fact, el Kanemi spent some years in Mecca. Large numbers of the Kanuri populace have also made the pilgrimage. Its effect has been to tie Kanuri society to the larger world of Islam, in that way to share in a larger community and to bring back to Bornu new ideas and new products. Pilgrims who travel across the width of Africa by truck from Lake Chad to the Red Sea, find that they have a common bond with other Moslems in the towns through which they pass.

78 The nature of religious observance among the Kanuri can be
182 seen in their adherence to the Pillars of Islam. But Islam
[576] enters into Kanuri life at numerous additional points: in the
[275] common greetings between two individuals when they meet; in the
[262] abstention from any form of alcoholic beverage which tends to
[777] be widely observed; in food taboos; in Koranic charms which most
[757] individuals wear; and in the use of ink from verses of the Koran
796 as cures for illness. Most life crises are marked by religious

634 871 555 177 565 554 see that, in order to succeed politically in future years, a school education is an advantage since the youngster learns to speak English, and learns enough of the ways of the Englishman to better himself. Thus the group of NA Malams that has emerged derives from the aristocracy or from minor political officialdom. Their goals are commensurate with their social background; all hope some day to be appointed Lowan or Ajia, or to achieve political power by gaining a post in Maiduguri. As a group, therefore, they belong within the political structure, though their roles are not specifically political. Their aspirations are the traditional Kanuri aspirations toward political power and social prestige. However, the means to obtain power which [178] is represented by the NA Malams is newly emergent in Kanuri society.

E. Religion at the Communal Level.

128 76 [184] Religious practice among the Kanuri does not differ from community to community. Therefore, in discussing the manifestations of religion in the community of Geidam, it will not be necessary to describe Islamic observances, such as the ritual 128 79 prayer. The present discussion will be limited to two areas: [185] religious specialists and their place in the social system of Geidam; and religious festivals as they are celebrated at the community level.

[GEIDAM]

789 301 [531] Another area of religious behavior concerns the wearing of charms (laya). These are, typically, verses of the Koran, bound in decorated leather cases, strung on a thong, and worn on one's neck. They are written by a Malam, and are obtained for specific purposes: to protect the wearer against a variety of catastrophic events of natural origin (lightning, snake-bite, drowning), against injury from humans (knife wounds, gun shot), against gossip and evil eye, and to insure success and popularity. Some individuals wear great clusters of twenty or more different laya about their necks; others wear only one or two. It can be seen in Table XXV that all but two people in the sample own one or more laya. Though most people in the sample wear one or more laya constantly (columns 1 and 2), a number of individuals wear laya only in times of emergency--when they are [484] in dangerous surroundings. Dangers arise whenever one leaves one's own village or town, and they are greatest when one is traveling. Fourteen individuals state that they only wear laya 789 301 441 when they are traveling. The only group showing any differences in Table XXV are the Canteen Operators. Most of them wear laya only when traveling. It is difficult to discern the significance of this aspect of their behavior but taken together with their strictness in other areas of religious behavior (fasting, drinking beer) it would seem to indeate that they place less reliance on the protection afforded by wearing Koranic charms 441 than do other groups. They nevertheless strictly observe the 76 standards of religious behavior in areas which can be seen by

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 281]

others--by taking the pilgrimage (and being addressed as Alhaji henceforth), fasting, etc.

Still another area which was used as a measure of acculturation concerns treatment of disease and attitudes towards Western medicine. This area is closely linked to that of religious attitudes and behavior. There are two types of traditional Kanuri medical specialists. One is a secular specialist who deals with a restricted number of physical ailments: muscular pains, swellings, broken bones. The other is the Koranic Malam who writes out verses of the Koran on a wooden board. Particular verses are used to treat specific diseases--the verse is chosen to fit the ailment. The ink is then washed off the board and drunk as a cure by the ailing person. This cure is called alo. Between these two medical specialists the Kanuri have a great many cures for a wide variety of diseases. When asked whether they would go to a European doctor for treatment (Table XXVI), most people replied that they would go. Only seven individuals stated that they would not do so. Two of these are Koranic Malams, whose own roles in this area conflict directly with the Western medical practitioner; three are members of the Low-status group. The direct effect of the presence of the anthropologist as an agent of Western culture who cannot avoid distributing aspirins and other pills is seen in the response of an elderly kabuna who stated that he would go for treatment because the anthropologist had come to Geidam, but would not otherwise have gone.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 283]